DESCRIPTION OF THE SLABS AND OTHER SEPULCHRAL MONUMENTS IN SETON CHURCH, EAST LOTHIAN. By GEORGE SETON, F.S.A. Scot.

The church of Seton, in the parish of Tranent and county of Haddington, founded as a parochial church at a very early date, was rendered collegiate by George, fourth Lord Seton, in the year 1493. The interesting fabric, besides being frequently referred to by Sir Richard Maitland in his *History of the House of Seton*, is fully described by Grose in the *Antiquities of Scotland*, by Sir Walter Scott in his *Provincial Antiquities*, by Billings in the *Baronial and Ecclesiastical Antiquities of Scotland*, and by Mr T. S. Muir in his *Ancient Churches of Scotland*. Engravings of the edifice appear in Maitland, Grose, Scott (by Blore), and Billings; and about ten years ago it was admirably illustrated by a series of elaborate drawings, plans, and elevations in the *Sketch Book of the Edinburgh Architectural Association*. The church has long been a favourite subject with artists. Some forty years ago, it was carefully painted in oil by the late James Drummond, and more recently, an effective water-colour drawing, now in my possession, was executed by Mr Alexander Fraser, son-in-law of the gifted Thomas Duncan. Some excellent photographs of the exterior were taken by my friend Mr Robert Murray, C.E., about eight years ago, while others were shown at the industrial exhibition, held at Ormiston, under the auspices of Miss Dempster, in the summer of 1887.

1 In the course of some drainage operations at Seton church, in August 1851, a piece of black coal or chalk, such as is used by masons and carpenters, bearing the initials "T. A." and the figures "1364," was found along with an ancient coin, both now at Gosford.

2 A good many years ago, the same artist painted an interesting picture of James VI. encountering the Earl of Winton’s funeral at Seton, on his way to take possession of the English crown in 1603, which is believed now to be in one of the British colonies (see Tytler’s *History of Scotland*, vol. ix. p. 410).
In the *Gentleman’s Magazine* for December 1848, is a notice of a visit of the Society of Scottish Antiquaries to the church, and of a contemplated memorial to the Earl of Wemyss, the owner of the fabric, “for a further grant of money to be applied to the restoration of the church, and thus preserve in repair one of the most interesting relics of Scottish antiquity.”

On more than one occasion, the sacred edifice appears to have been ruthlessly injured by foreign invaders; and the last Earl of Winton, at his trial for implication in the “rising” of 1715, in his answer to the articles of impeachment, after alluding to the attack upon Seton Palace by the militia of the shire of Lothian, “under the specious pretence of serving the Government,” proceeds as follows: — “The most sacred places did not escape their fury and resentment; they broke into his chapel, defaced the monuments of his ancestors, took up the stones of their sepulchres, thrust irons through their bodies, and treated them in a most barbarous, inhuman, and unchristianlike manner.” In his preface to the Edinburgh edition of Sir Richard Maitland’s *House of Seton*, Charles Kirkpatrick Sharpe mentions that the engraving of the church which it contains was taken from a drawing by a lady of high rank, a descendant of the family, and expresses regret that no delineation was made till the inside of the building had been much defaced, the tombs broken, and the pavement raised by the rabble and common soldiers in their search for hidden treasure. “It is ever to be regretted,” says Mr Sharpe, “that the present noble possessor of Seton should not have been the first purchaser; as the acknowledged good taste of the Earl of Wemyss, putting his descent from the family of Seton out of the question, would have ensured the safety of these venerable ruins.”

My first visit to Seton church was as far back as 1836, and fifteen

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1 The old palace of Seton, whose magnificence is shown in a series of engravings, after Clerk of Eldin, issued by the Bannatyne Club, was wantonly demolished towards the end of last century, by a temporary possessor—described by the late John Riddell as a “barbarous Celt”—whose ownership was ultimately set aside by the House of Lords.

2 The “Duchess-Countess” of Sutherland. The original drawing was sold at the auction of Mr James Gibson-Craig’s prints, &c., in 1887.
years later (1851) I thoroughly explored its features and contents during a month's residence at Port Seton. At that date, the bays and tracery openings of all the windows were entirely blocked with rude masonry, and one of the transepts was used as a carpenter's shop! In 1878, the church was partially restored by the late Earl of Wemyss, under the direction of the late Mr Maitland Wardrop, architect, whose share of the alterations was confined to the restoration and glazing of the windows. The rest of the work, executed at the same time, embraced the removal of two large mural monuments from the chancel to the transepts, the construction of three vaults towards the centre of the chancel (in which the late Earl and Countess of Wemyss are interred), and the covering of the entire floor of the church with sea-gravel. These operations, I am informed by Mr Alexander Matthew, builder, of 29 Grove Street, Edinburgh (employed by Mr Wardrop in connection with the restoration of the windows), were carried out under the superintendence of a mason from Aberlady. On the occasion of a recent visit to the church, after an interval of a good many years, I was greatly grieved to discover that no fewer than nine or ten interesting sepulchral slabs had entirely disappeared, and I lost no time in communicating with Lord Wemyss upon the subject. His Lordship requested me to inform him when I had last seen the slabs in question, and appeared to be under the impression that they had been removed and broken up during the lifetime of his grandfather (who died in 1853), by an incompetent individual employed to prepare the church for a place of burial, when the windows were blocked with masonry. In reply, I stated that I had made careful drawings or rubbings of these slabs in 1851, and that I was confident I had seen most of them several years after that date. I further expressed a hope that, instead of having been removed and broken up, the slabs might still be intact under the sea-gravel, at no great distance from the surface; and Lord Wemyss has been good enough to indicate that when he carries out his long-contemplated idea of substituting concrete tiles for the sea-gravel, he will authorise an investigation, with the view of ascertaining whether any of the missing slabs still exist. In his notice of the church in Billings' work, Dr Hill Burton says—"Every slab on the pavement has some monumental
purpose, and the visitor is forcibly reminded of the dust added unto dust that lies beneath his feet, by the earth being in some places disturbed, and showing the shape and dimensions of the graves by laying bare portions of the flag-stones by which their sides are cased. Some of the flat monumental stones have an appearance of greater antiquity than any portion of the church. On one of them may be traced the earliest symbol that is to be found on any stones in Scotland ascertained to be monumental—the great cross-handled sword, which served at once to indicate the warlike career of the dead, and his trust in the religion of peace."

I shall first briefly notice the existing monuments.

1. Recumbent effigies, somewhat mutilated, of one of the Lords Seton and his lady, within a niche, in the Perpendicular style, near the N.E. corner of the chancel. The hands of both figures are closed in the usual attitude of prayer. The male effigy is in plate armour, with a wreath round the helmet, while the head of the female rests upon a cushion. Mr Muir conjectures that the figures represent George, fourth Lord Seton (ob. 1508), by whom the church was made collegiate, and his wife Lady Margaret Campbell, daughter of Colin, first Earl of Argyll. Unfortunately, the monument is unaccompanied by either inscription or armorial bearings. It is specially referred to by "Delta," in his lines on "The Ruins of Seton Chapel":—

   The prone effigies, carved in marble mail,  
The fair ladye, with crossed palms on her breast.

   This monument is pretty well shown in the drawing by the Duchess of Sutherland, already referred to, and it also appears in the E. A. A. Sketch Book. At the recent sale of Mr Samuel Edmonston's pictures, I secured a very faithful representation in oil of this interest-

1 The Campbell gyrons appear with the Seton and Sinclair arms upon an interesting octagonal font still preserved in the church. In 1849, a circular font (also still preserved) was dug up outside the church, and was found to contain several coins, hawks-bells, &c., which are now at Gosford. George, sixth Lord Seton, is said by the family historian to have been experienced in all games, and to have been reckoned the best falconer of his time. Both of these fonts are very accurately engraved in the E. A. A. Sketch Book.
ing monument, which appeared in the Catalogue as "A tale of bygone
days."

2. The elaborate mural monument of James, first Earl of Perth, who
married Lady Isabel Seton, daughter of Robert, first Earl of Winton,
and who died at Seton in 1611, in the twentieth year of his age, formerly
occupied the N.E. corner of the chancel, and is now affixed to the east
wall of the south transept. In the upper portion, between two small
pillars, is an escutcheon bearing the impaled coats of Perth and
Winton, with the supporters, crest, and motto of the former earldom.
The same two coats appear in separate shields, each surmounted by a
coronet, between two larger pillars in the central part of the monument,
from which an oblong marble slab (2 feet 9 inches by 2 feet) has been
removed, and which bore the following inscription:—"Conditum hic
est quicquid mortale fuit Jacobi Drummond, familiae principis, quique
primus familiam titulo Perthiam comitatus illustravit. Monumentum
hoc posuit amantissima et maxstissima conjunx D. Isabell Setoun
Robertus Wentonie unica. An. . Sal . . "

On one of two semicircular marble slabs, at the base of the monu-
ment, and separated by a monogram embracing the letters "I.D."
(James Drummond) and "I. S." (Isabel Seton), is the following epitaph,
composed by William Drummond of Hawthornden, a draft of which
appears in one of the volumes of *Hawthornden MSS.* in the Library of
the Society of Scottish Antiquaries:—

Instead of epitaphes and airy praise,
This monument a lady chaste did raise
To her lord's living fame, and, after death,
Her bodye doth unto this place bequeath,
To rest with his till God's shrill trumpet sound ;
Thogh tyme her lyf, no tyme her love can bound.

The following quaint letter, dated in May 1622, from William
Drummond to Lady Isabel Seton (then wife of Francis Stewart, eldest
son of the attainted Earl of Bothwell), appears in the volume of the
*Hawthornden MSS.* already referred to. It was evidently written in

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reply to one from Lady Isabel, in which she had thanked the poet for the touching lines on the Perth monument. As her first husband died in 1611, it would appear that eleven years had elapsed before the epitaph was composed; and accordingly, it is quite possible that her second matrimonial experience may have proved less satisfactory than the first, and that this circumstance had prompted the pathetic allusion to her first love, in the last line of the epitaph:—

Madam,—Your courtesie hath prevented me, it being mine to offer you thanks both for esteeming me worthy so honourable a task and for measuring those lines according to affection and not their worth: for if they had any, it was all (as the moon hath her light) borrowed from the rays of your Ladyship's own invention. But this quality becometh well your sweet disposition, and the generosity of that noble stem of which you have your birth, as doth the erecting of that noble monument to your all-worthy Lord: by the which ye have not only obliged all his kindred now living, but in ages to come, the unborn posterity to render you immortal thanks. Your desert and good opinion of me, have by a gracious violence (if I can be so happy as to do you service) won me to remain your Ladyship's ever to command. W. DRUMMOND.

Twenty-seven years later (April 1649), Drummond indites another letter, "To his worthy and much respected friend, Mr William Anster, at Tranent," relative to the same monument, "from which," says Professor Masson, "it is evident that the writer had resumed, within three months after the death of Charles I., those researches into the genealogy and history of the Drummond family which had many years before been a subject of correspondence between him and the Earl of Perth."

Much respected friend,—These are to entreat you earnestly that, when occasion and your leisure serveth, you would be pleased to do me the favour as to take the pains to transcribe the inscription which is upon my Lord of Perth's tomb in the Chapel of Seton. I have drawn up a Genealogical Table of the House of Drummond, with many ornaments, and some garnishings of the persons. In this the inscriptions of my Lord's tomb will serve me for some light. My noble Lord of Winton is descended lineally of this race, and shall not be overpassed in what I can do him or his ancient family honour and service. When this piece is perfected, it must come under your

1 Memoir of Drummond of Hawthornden, p. 449.
hand to give it the last lustre. Thus, my commendations remembered, etc.—I remain, your assured and loving friend to serve you, W. DRUMMOND. 
—April 1649.¹

3. The mural monument of James Ogilvie of Bernes, son of Sir George Ogilvie of Dunlugas, who married Beatrix, fourth daughter of George, sixth Lord Seton, and who died in 1617, formerly on the south wall of the chancel, now occupies the east wall of the north transept, and is accurately figured in the *E. A. A. Sketch Book*. It bears a Latin inscription in Roman characters, which is surmounted by three large crescents, and the Ogilvie arms, with helmet, crest (a rock?), and motto (*Ex Unguibus leonum*); Quarterly, 1st and 4th, a crowned lion passant gardant, for Ogilvie; 2nd and 3rd, three papingoes, for Home of Fastcastle—surtout, also quarterly, 1st and 4th, a lion rampant surmounted of a ribbon, for Abernethy; 2nd and 3rd, three piles, for Wishart. The inscription is as follows:

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Soli Deo trino et uni
Omnis honor laus
et gloria
Monumentum hoc Jacobo Ogvelvi de
Bernes filio tertio genito domini Ge-
orgii Ogvelvie a Bamff de Dunlougus mi-
litis et Beatricis Seton hujus familie
filiae Georgius Ogvelvie de Carnousis
frater et hæres hujus familie posuit.
Febre violenta correptus hic apud
sanguine et amicitia conjunctissimos
obiit vicesimo nono Januarii
Anno Domini MDCCCLXXVII.
Ex defuncti mandato et in fratris gratiam
curavit. \\

4. Large black marble slab (5 feet 6 inches by 4 feet 8 inches), on
the west wall of the chantry chapel, with a long Latin inscription
commemorating George, seventh Lord Seton (ob. 1585), the faithful
adherent of Mary, Queen of Scots, and his wife Isabel, daughter of

¹ Hawthornenden MSS., *Arch. Scot.*, iv. 98.
Sir William Hamilton of Sanquhar, Lord High Treasurer of Scotland (ob. 1604). In his Lives of Scottish Writers (iii. 217), Mackenzie states that the inscription was the production of the scholarly pen of one of the younger sons of the deceased, viz., Alexander, Earl of Dunfermline and Chancellor of Scotland. It is printed in Grose's Antiquities, and an English translation, from a MS. in the possession of the Earl of Wemyss, is given in the Edinburgh edition of Maitland's House of Seton.

5. Two detached pieces of a slab, bearing a shield of arms apparently charged with four mullets (one, two and one), between the letters "G. L.," with a surrounding inscription in Roman letters:—"Heir lyis George Livistone . . . . deceased . . . . Februar 1608."

Possibly the slab may commemorate George, son of "John Levingtoun of Salt-cottis," who married Beatrix, illegitimate daughter of George, fourth Lord Seton.¹

The missing slabs are as follows:—

1. Oblong stone, 5 feet 7 inches by 2 feet 10 inches, with one of the upper corners broken off (fig. 1), exhibiting a floriated Cross and Calvary, without any inscription, very similar to one at Holyrood, described in a paper which I read before the Society in 1851, and printed in the fourth volume of the Archaeologia Scotica.

I am disposed to think that this is the slab mentioned by Dr Hill Burton, as bearing "a great cross-handled sword."

2. Matrix of a monumental brass, 7 feet by 3½ feet, broken across the centre (fig. 2), dug up outside the church in 1849; in all probability the tombstone of either Catherine Sinclair of Hermandston, wife of William, first Lord Seton, or of Lady Janet Hepburn, widow of George, fifth Lord, who fell at Flodden, both great benefactresses of the sacred edifice, as the matrix very clearly indicated the outline of a female figure under an ornamental canopy, with a surrounding inscription. The interest of this slab was greatly enhanced by the circumstance of there being very few Scottish examples of either monumental brasses or their matrices.

¹ Nisbet gives quite a different coat for Livingston of Saltcoats.
3. Oblong slab, 5 feet 7 inches by 2 feet 7 inches, with a small part of the upper portion broken off (fig. 3), bearing a shield of arms above a death's head and cross bones, and the following surrounding inscription in Roman characters:—"[Heir . lyis . James] . Ste vart . son . to

Captane . James . Stevart . of . Cardonald . [quha . deceisit] . the . 18 . of . Februar . 1608]." The armorial bearings were quarterly, 1st and 4th, three fleurs-de-lis, for France; 2nd and 3rd, a fess chequed, for Stewart—surtout, an escutcheon charged with a saltire engrailed, cantoned by four roses, for Lennox, between a line of oval buckles (three on each side), for Aubigny, forming the horizontal division of
the principal quarters—a somewhat unusual arrangement. The individual commemorated was the son of James Stewart of Cardonald, Captain of Perth for Queen Mary, and fifth in descent from Sir Alan Stewart of Darnley, who married Catherine, daughter of William,

Fig. 3. Seton Church.

Fig. 4. Seton Church.

first Lord Seton, in virtue of which descent the late John Riddell considered that the interment took place in Seton church.

4. Fragment of a slab bearing a chalice, and part of a surrounding inscription in Old English characters.

5. Two upper portions of a slab exhibiting a coronet of five points, which is engraved in my Scottish Heraldry, and the following inscription in Roman letters:

"HEIR . LYES . DAME . IANE . FLETCHER .
VICEVNTESSE . OF . KINGSTON . WHO . DECEISED .
[THE . ] . . . OF . AG[yest . 1651]."
The Viscountess was the only daughter of Sir George Fletcher, of the family of Salton, and first wife of Alexander Seton, first Viscount Kingstone, the plucky defender of Tantallon Castle, and the continuator of Sir Richard Maitland's *House of Seton*, now represented by Mr Hay of Duns Castle.

6. Two fragments of the black marble tablet, showing eight or nine letters of the Latin inscription in Roman characters, formerly occupying the centre of the Earl of Perth's monument already referred to.

The six preceding slabs lay within the chancel.

The three following, each measuring about 6 feet by 2½ feet, were near the entrance to the church, between the two transepts, and are distinctly indicated in one of Billings' engravings:

7. An ornamental shield (fig. 4), charged with three crescents, between the letters "I. S." and a surrounding inscription, commencing "HEIR. LYIS. IOHNE. SETON." The lower portion of the slab was broken off, and the remainder of the inscription illegible, with the exception of the two words "Margaret" and "August."

8. Impaled shield (fig. 5). Dexter, three crescents. Sinister, a bend charged with three roses or cinquefoils—on a chief, two (three?) mullets.

*Inscription.*—"HEIR. LYIS. DAVID. SETON. MERCHANT. BURGES. OF EDINBURGH. SPOVS. TO. HEIN. BRAND. QVHA. DECEISIT. IN. VINTON. THE. 22. DAY. OF. IVLIE. 1632."

Brand of Baberton, sprung from a merchant burgess of Edinburgh, bore a bend charged with three muscles, and three spur rowels (or mullets) on a chief.

9. Another impaled shield (fig. 6). Dexter, three crescents. Sinister, three roses or cinquefoils.

*Inscription.*—"HEIR. LYIS. . . . (corner of slab broken off) ALISONE. MORTANE. QVHA. DECEISIT. IN. SETON. . . . . MEER. 1604."

I can find no blazon for the surname of Morton corresponding with the sinister impalement in this escutcheon.

Beside these three slabs was a *fourth*, without any arms or inscription, which was said to be the tombstone of the mother of General Don, governor of Gibraltar, who died about the end of last century, and who
was the last person buried in Seton church, till the interment of the late Countess of Wemyss in 1882.

From the *Scots Magazine* for 1750, we learn that Miss Matty Seton, daughter of the deceased George Seton, Esq., representative of the Earl of Dunfermline, was buried in Seton church on the 8th of December of that year; and the following lines, relative to the interment, from the pen of Hamilton of Bangour, appear in the same publication:

> In these once hallowed walls’ neglected shade,
> Sacred to piety and to the dead,
> Where the long line of Seton’s race repose,
> Whose tombs to valour or to wisdom rose;
> Tho’ now a thankless age to slavery prone,
> [careless of]
> Past fame despising, | faithless to | its own,
> Records no more, each public virtue fled,
> Who wisely counselled or who bravely bled;
> Tho’ here the warrior shield is hung no more,
> But every violated trophy tore—
> Heaven’s praise, man’s honour, share one shameful lot,
> God and His image both alike forgot;
The last of the direct line of the family buried in the church appears to have been George, fourth Earl of Winton (father of the attainted Earl), who died in 1704, and whose coffin plate, formerly the property of Charles Kirkpatrick Sharpe, is now in the possession of the Earl of Eglinton.

In addition to the monuments described in the first part of this paper, the following detached sculptured stones are still preserved in the chancel:—

1. Block, about 4 feet by 2 feet, exhibiting a shield surmounted by a coronet, quarterly 1st and 4th, a saltire, with a label in chief, for Maxwell; 2nd and 3rd, three hedgehogs or hurcheons (French, herissons), for Herries. I am not quite clear as to the raison d'être of this armorial stone. There were, however, at least two alliances between the Maxwells and the Setons—(1) Herbert Maxwell of Caerlaverock, first Lord Maxwell of Herries (whose first wife was a daughter of Sir Herbert Herries of Terregles), married, secondly, Catherine, daughter of William, Lord Seton, widow of Sir Alan Stewart of Darnley, and mother of John, first Earl of Lennox; (2) Elizabeth, daughter of John, seventh Lord Herries, was the second wife of George, third Earl of Winton.

2. Broken block, about 3 feet long and 1 foot high, with the letters “G. S.” and “A. H.”—probably George Seton, third Earl of Winton, the “magnificent builder” of Winton House, and his first wife Lady Anna

1 In the Poems of Hamilton of Bangour, published in 1760, the two concluding lines (after “these walls anew”) are—

“The muse, that listens to desert alone,
“Snatches from Fate, and seals thee for her own:”

and in the Scots Magazine, after the words “pilgrims of the heart,” six additional lines are given.

2 See Seton’s Scottish Heraldry, p. 73 and plate ii.

3 See p. 183, supra.
THE DUNBARS, EARLS OF DUNBART, MARCH, AND MORAY.

IX. PATRIC OF DUNBAR (7th Earl), Earl of March, M. 1st March 1313, d. c. 1315, m. c. 1241 Cecilia." Served heir to his father in lands in England 13th Dec. 1348. The first of the family who bore roses in his bordure. 25th Aug. 1392, died 11th Nov. 1398, buried in the north aisle of the Church of Dunbar.

X. PATRIC OF DUNBAR (8th Earl), Earl of March. The first of the family who bore the designation, b. 1242, m. c. 1258 Muriel, daughter of Alexander Conyngham of Buchan. One of the co-heirs for the Crown 3rd Augt. 1368. Sometimes styled "Conte de la Marche" (Lothian). Died 16th July 1368, aged 66.

XI. JOHN OF DUNBART, son of 8th Earl. Witness (Manuscript de Melr. No. 46). Seems to have been Dominus de Byrkynside. m. ——. Son states that George Dunsart 1328; possibly he meant this John, who was grandfather of George. There is no record on that time.

XII. PATRIC OF DUNBART, m. Isabella, younger daughter of Thomas Bamfylde, Earl of Moray, sister and co-heir of John Bamfylde 3rd Earl of Moray. Witness at Dunbar 11th Jan. 1342. Present at the battle of Bannockburn 24th June 1314, died in his way to the Holy Land 1356, and was buried in Candy.


XIV. GEORGE OF DUNBART (6th Earl), Earl of March. M. 1st March 1313, d. 1431, m. c. 1241 Cecilia. 14th Earl, 25th July 1314. He succeeded his father in 1331. His eldest son was George who was the 10th Earl. His mother was Mary Comyn, daughter of Alexander Conyngham of Buchan. He married Christiana (Seton ?). Seems to have died 1416, having held the Earldom 43 years.

XV. PATRIC OF DUNBART (7th Earl), Earl of March, b. c. 1315, m. c. 1241 Cecilia. 15th Earl, 25th July 1314. He succeeded his father in 1331. His eldest son was George who was the 10th Earl. His mother was Mary Comyn, daughter of Alexander Conyngham of Buchan. He married Christiana (Seton ?). Seems to have died 1416, having held the Earldom 43 years.

XVI. JOHN OF DUNBART, m. Mary, daughter and heir of Robert II., Earl of March. M. 1st March 1313, d. 1431. Earl of March confirmed to him by David II. on resignation of Patric. was killed at Dupplin 12th Aug. 1331. Created 3rd Earl of Moray, 9th March 1372-3. He died 10th Aug. 1429.

David Dunbar of Cumnock and Mochrum, probably brother of the 10th Earl.
Hay, daughter of Francis, eighth Earl of Errol—arranged as a monogram, in high relief.

3. Small block, bearing the same initials (?) within a triangular device.

4. Mutilated slab, 4 feet 7 inches by 3 feet 4 inches, exhibiting the Winton arms, with mottoes and all the exterior ornaments, finely carved, said to have formerly surmounted the principal entrance to Seton Palace.

5. Fragment (a thigh ?) of a mailed figure.

In the tower of the church is the interesting bell, brought from Holland by George, seventh Lord Seton, in 1577, engraved and described in Ballingall's *Edinburgh Past and Present*.